

Suraya
Pakidai

/39 cont. /

30/ 17/ This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Suraya and Pakidai, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

30/ d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

789 It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

832 Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrê. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrê -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hif -- (see p. 243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemôno. Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p. 119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

/39 cont. /

husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology. Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p.197).

As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriána, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, and Karauaterf whom I met also wore it (206).

206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado-Várias tribus de índios no Brasil, por exemplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Puri, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que esse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou este termo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

Suraya
Pakidai

/54 cont. / The lower part

of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --, and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here. /

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

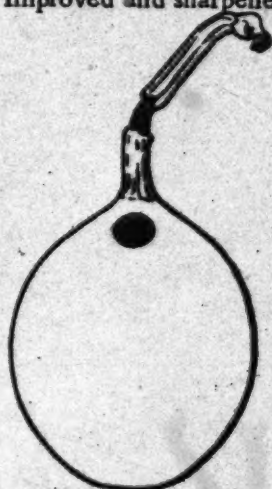


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it, and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

Suraya
Pekidai

/63 cont. /

854
593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114]
[171] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854
304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth frequently.

854
833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114
171 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacari /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows:
854
833 "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredientumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

Surára
Pakidái

171 /64 cont. /

304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a
consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later
sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic
reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former
times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to
say (325a).

171
304
854

325a. It is an interesting fact that among the
Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are de-
flowered at a very tender age by their mothers
in the same manner as among the Surára
and Pakidái and for the same reason
(Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been
documented for China and Indonesia too.
It is done there, however, for hygienic pur-
poses, in order to remove the mucus which
gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp.
218/19).

● 593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the
mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother
washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river.
The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

000

Surára
Pakidái

854
514
[123] /64 cont. /If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856
● 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

[851] After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851
846
114
171
842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000
553
776
[782] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

Surara
Pakidai

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the
muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls).
Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that
they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure,
is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to
free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has
made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it
is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a
good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, how-
ever, and together the children then have a meal, to which the
girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In
play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and
responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help
their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the
care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never
hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults.
Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children.
It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surara or Pakidai
child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without
constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred
to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game
of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted up-
ward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play
a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p. 244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond
of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

Surára
Pakidái

/65 cont. /

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers
of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They
do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were
reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

585 At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not
as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the
little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also
• [593] fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march,
[484] she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household
articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in
childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws
which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear
of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always
agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners
who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are
preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however,
the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are
abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and
prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally
marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára.
She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approxi-
mately 15 or 16 years old.

Surára
Pakidáí

/68 cont. /

755 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention
884 to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and
86 their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it
sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and
tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had un-
doubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he
notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request
the man in question to take part in another two-month training
course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar
171 form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans
receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the
neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco
juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 For the young Surára and Pakidáí men the instruction is free, to be
884 sure, but mandatory.

834 j) Sex life
833

834 The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is
833 extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations
of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of
love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the
dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the
tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable
opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband.
[595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with
the first and with the second.

843 If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together
837 frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through
this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy,
[593] however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a
lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will
be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

Surára
Pakidai

/69 cont./

727 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or
83 he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth
159 knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidai had two captive Makuxí women.

727 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar
83 observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/
171 (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows:
"Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 /75 cont. / According to their
24 own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-
197 bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely
1829 adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- lará -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norá -- (350). The latter,

• [513]
[462] 359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184] 350. Among the Waiká, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

[231] Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xáma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajá. The

/97 cont. /

755
[959]
[123]
[177] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamf:

Xunamf, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawō, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawō and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversation above all else, and even at night they go on talking for
[576] hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

• 593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment
593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

Surárg
Pakidai

/116 cont./

- 593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word.

[592] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestowing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171] 559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios desses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguém terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

/10/

Suratg
Pakidai

352
516
854
593



Ill. 29. Pakidai woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231
←



Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

142
302
291
516
372
→



Ill. 31. Pakidai Indian making fire

/202 cont. /

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanema women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments,
301 guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas /
294 and gñenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made
352 and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, fire-
285 wood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method
[323] that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanema make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

323 A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is
415 the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the
412 men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small
[337] stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Sirará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebató told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife
[593]
[727]
[184] has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Watka

/216 cont. /

584 "péwa písaye!" = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanema suitors: "ipaháwana'a wahábalone!" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancée's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "authíwana sahBíp kobítob áble" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good conucos, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "wahíspa kukéne" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

/217 cont. /

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but ~~dealings with his wife's parents on which the new 'adoption' is~~ ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebató assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

● 593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their husbands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same 937 manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passion-
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems,
587 since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual inter-
593 course with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
[601] always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
[184] find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai)
are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the
levirate.

THE SAMATARI PLAN

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead. 123*
844

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us. 846
(262)

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family. 611
594

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less. [562]

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be 858
(855)
593 •
858
428

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

573
858 especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it
428 were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of
858 their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water,
857 making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of
food.

101 Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any
177 attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread
over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one
might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific
islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes
only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social
[628] organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another
as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers
like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this
race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own
sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreign-
ers, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More
often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not
spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival
calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally
hostile forest.

121 The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical
setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves
continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the
determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity
which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the
surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching
on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

133 Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the
101 beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environ-
ment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively,
to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great
cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north,
west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole
extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

/478 cont./

628
728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591
606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595
[598] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

• 593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

*621 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are
 • 593 brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number
 • 152 of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly
 • 602 brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of
 rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data,
 the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their
 husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women
 have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise
 restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the
 brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is
 [586] not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel
 [579] husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably
 leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to
 split.

181 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote
 • 152 friction and fighting within villages and lead to village
 • 621 splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek
 • 608 marriage alliances with other groups.
 • 583
 • 582

Economic practices

361 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural
 • 241 sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of
 • 922 their enemies. For the most part, the Yanoama are able to
 predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their
 gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war
 is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance
 • 621 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop
 • 673 within the village and it is expected that these will
 • 241

175 Karawatari's village.

648
[726]

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawā, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumōna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Navaca River under the leadership of Matakuwā, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwā's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwā's men on this raid and brought to the Navaca River. Matakuwā's village was on a branch of the Navaca River called Kedebabōwei-u when Nabāyoma was abducted from Karawatari's

[114]

group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabāyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[593]

[052]

In Matakuwā's village, Nabāyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwā's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowā-tāka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were

[228]

[594]

taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowā-tāka found Nabāyoma in the woods outside Matakuwā's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
838 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to
this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about
it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The
men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more
than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
936 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and
he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[164] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[584] measure of his sexual prowess.

• 573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of M̄maribōwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiw̄. Being 'ugly'
(wanidiw̄), he can not find a wife. One of his normal
brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In
general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the
husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother;
co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other
and often resent having to share food, particularly meat.
Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives
from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kqobawł gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kqobawł continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*628 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
594 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
837 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.¹ One of my female informants used husband

¹Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

(28
584
582
601
885
183

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

(84
593
607

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished.

(795
184

Thus, Kqobawā was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krāōmi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yanomamō rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during

(766

cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than

835

they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yanomamō avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kqobawā, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kqobawā himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it,

(123

"... is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confessed that he had fornicated with his PaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife.

Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is

(201
183

widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

613
*621 disposition of these women and their children, a factor that
602 did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the
562 two agnatically related descent groups.¹
584
726

532 A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male
584 kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the
*573 decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had
*621 adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the
father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend
on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally,
a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.² If the
marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to
a non-kinsman within the village.

583 Men are obliged to perform bride service in the vil-
591 lage of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife
584 back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves
602 her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but
721 this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such
*628 situations usually develop into wars between the village of
the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

[28] ¹See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] ²By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bissasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

634
602
721
*628 the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed
out of a case such as this.

*628
583
584
*593
613 When women are given to men in allied villages, the
local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers
and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates)
decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should
*628 have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into al-
583 liances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages,
since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent
*621 than larger ones.¹ Local descent groups in small villages
613 are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages
593 because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if
*602 there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these
*628 are incorporated into the local descent group. In small
villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate
because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her
marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the
politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for
this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely,
the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostili-
ties against the smaller village.

*628
583
584
613 The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it
is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

(574) ¹Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances
with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as
it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such al-
liances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

1. Marriage Ties

602
593
581
583
[607] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yanomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 837
593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of

[578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 593
684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

- 593 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burn-
684 ing log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common
punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds
inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field
[578] a fight developed in Patanowā-tedi between a man and his
wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the
woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a
[65] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands,
but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds
that were not intended to be fatal.

- 607
613 Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is
+621 weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his
+628 sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the
[573] social organization of the Yānomamō, as it is stable, well
defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The
brother-in-law (shoriwā) tie is the key link in alliances
between local descent groups, both within and between vil-
lages.

- 607
601 The term shoriwā (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo,
friend) is used constantly by Yānomamō men when they address
any new male acquaintance. Shoriwā implies a set of obliga-
tions and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his
shoriwā for material goods and gifts, and a request for such
items from a shoriwā is not easily denied: shoriwā is, in
addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yānomamō use this
term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that
[797]
[609]
[01] the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

600 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
 621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
 613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
 602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
 598 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds
 within the village, the groups that have most in common with
 each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic
 ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should
 [607] the feud lead to a village split.¹ While the tie between
 closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-
 in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between
 distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
 609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
 621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
 613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
 598 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
 582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women,
 affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for
 them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between
 distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 • One of the two most important consanguineal ties
 621 having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie
 between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128] ¹See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the
 structure of village factions.

593 important in the organization of village life as ties between
+621 male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction
when the village splits.

593 Males consider their role as sister's protector with
601 some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against severe
mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex
is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer
to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may
be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term
is used by both sexes to refer to their female children,
nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a
corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwā, but a
man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with
whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective
561 sense, only when their relative ages are considerably dif-
ferent. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as
they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually

884 to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage
[881] for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood;
the first indication is the young man's display of anger
when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a
boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares
use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult.
Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are
obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to
coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

234 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

* 593
661 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yanomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [593] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

* 621
602 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie
591 between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively [628] closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kqobawü of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him¹ but they behave as if they were [622]

¹See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
 602 asked Kqobawā what he had done about it. He said he had
 613 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
 561 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
 123 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
 554 light, as Kqobawā could not force Shiimima to return it.
 571 When I questioned Kqobawā about this ineffectiveness, he
 explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
 him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
 siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
 622 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
 613 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
 602 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
 529 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
 574 Kqobawā usually goes to the center of the village and begins
 351 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
 554 agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
 591 would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
 561 Kqobawā requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
 regard implies that one is being bossed around.

* 621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
 613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
 602 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
 561 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
 • 593 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
 602 solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult
 613

* 693 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate,
602 with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in
613 such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being
bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and
* [21] lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are
two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within
the village.

* 621 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can
601 be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants,
* 628 Ksobawā's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowā-
691 tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain
124 that my genealogies were correct, so I re-investigated the
usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms
for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different vil-
lage, but that she had called them by brother terms when they
lived together in Patanowā-tedi. She explained that she would
again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite.
Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a
distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient
of solidarity does.

* 628 The weakness of the tie between distantly related
602 agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After
613 the Patanowā-tedi separated from the Bissasi-tedi and the
726 Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two
groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in compo-
sition¹ in that each comprised local descent groups of the

¹See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the break-
down of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

* 622 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore,
 602 was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related
 613 agnates. Kpobawē, the headman of Upper Bissasi-tedi, parti-
 726 cipated in the raiding against the Patanowē-tedi. In one
 (622) skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwē, but
 Rakoiwē survived the wound. This man is as closely related
 to Kpobawē as most of the men that presently constitute his
 agnatic following in Upper Bissasi-tedi, again illustrating
 the significance of co-residence in determining the strength
 (513) of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowē-tedi recently
 joined the Bissasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived,
 the Bissasi-tedi and the Patanowē-tedi resumed their old
 (606) hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited
 (513) both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowē-
 tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact
 that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowē-tedi.
 One of the young men, Sirorowē, told me that he would have
 avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwē) and actual brothers,
 but would have shot more distant agnates.

* 623 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie
 726 between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the
 602 history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawē-tedi.
 607
 622 These two villages are led by men who are classificatory
 brothers. The war started when a man from Borota-tedi, a
 brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by
 the Yabitawē-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain
 man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

622
622
602
602
622
latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting.

622
578
593
Munobawā, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawā, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Munobawā discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawā with a club. Dikawā got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

622
602
578
613
593
Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowā-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602
578
Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers, but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally end up in different villages when a larger village splits, particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Ygnomamō warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Ygnomamō occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

Club fights within villages frequently pit close agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates, however, occasionally do fight against each other with the intent to kill. Much of Ygnomamō warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

*621 Most of the displays of 111
156 ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, partic-
152 ularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of
593 displaying aggressiveness.

*628 One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take
921 advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display
562 ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages
that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for
other villages can participate in the raiding against these
disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see
Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political
dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly
in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvan-
tage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women.
Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat
that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances
indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted.
Members of allied villages that have recently entered into
alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the
other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the
village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in
the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village un-
expectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much
of a temptation to pass by.

*629 Political dealings between allies are such that each
attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely
sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can
afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yancama village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0.

121 I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that
 123 polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than
 125 his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his
 127 wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual
 129 alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older
 131 brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous
 133 relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as
 135 full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older
 137 brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or
 139 at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of

121 them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend
 162 Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions
 164 in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relation-
 166 ship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the
 168 factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry
 170 between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase
 172 accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly
 174 related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to
 176 each other regarding both the disposition of women and
 178 acquisition of women for spouses.

* (21) the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men
(22) in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us
(43) briefly examine the composition of this village.
(602)

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absence of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawā for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-

(156) in-law. Reromawā is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.¹ His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the

• (513) village. He has four adult sons to support his position.
(601) Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system
(554) and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so
(183) as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two
(582) classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children
(036) of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

(573) ¹His son, Bākēbōwā, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawā is getting old.

* 628
721 the Patanowā-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force
782 led them to declare war on the Patanowā-tedi. The Monou-tedi
841 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenabōwei, across
726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland,
anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After
they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site,
they raided the Patanowā-tedi in the last week of January
1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 Another important event took place while the Monou-
581 tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an
582 event that illustrates the same principle of political philo-
* 593 sophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young
* 628 man, Karidimō, who had only one leg. Karidimō could not do
heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their
new site Karidimō moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife.
Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and
asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping
that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowā-tedi if
they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi
men obligingly took her away from Karidimō by force and gave
her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimō, enraged
at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

* 628 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position.
721 They were planning to raid the Patanowā-tedi and would have
578 to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the
revenge raids from the Patanowā-tedi became intense. They
could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimō, for this

726
622
622
[554] Bisaasi-tedi; as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwā seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowā-tedi without the support of Kqobāwā. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. [602] As Paruriwā was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156
622
[123] Paruriwā's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, [513] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwā was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,

#621
622
361
529
574 Paruriwā and his group separated from Kqobāwā's and moved across the Grinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his position as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kqobāwā as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwā spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

*621
595
586
578
• [593] Moiyowā had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumalema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawā. Moiyowā attempted to get his wife back from Makerawā, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawā stabbed Moiyowā with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyowā's faction, Rakoiwā, who then attacked Makerawā, running him through with a sharp-
* [628]
[361] ened club, killing him. Makerawā's faction fled from Patanowā-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowā-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the
*726
*628 Patanowā-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowā-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowā-tedi men hunting outside the village. [602] They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kpabāwā's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, [115] Shinahewā. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was
[593]
[624] taken away from Makerawā's group. Moiyowā cut both her ears off to punish her.

212

	<u>Name of Individual</u>	<u>Patrilineage</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Comments</u>
*621	32. Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
162	33. Makakami	Sha	F	56	
551	34. Niaiyouw	Sha	M	14	
613	35. Omonoiw	Tom	M	28	
	36. Reromaw	Sha	M	53	Headman
	37. Rosa	Sha	F	8	
	38. Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
	39. Shiborow	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
	40. Tiabow	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
	41. Tomahew	Tom	M	21	
	42. Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
	43. Ugushi	Nor	M	22	
	44. Walimi	Nor	F	21	
	45. Waiyamobeni	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
	46. Waiyamobeni's son	Sha	M	0.5	
	47. Waiyuruna	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
	48. Wakarabew	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
	49. Yabnema	Kio	F	33	
	50. Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
	51. Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

- 159
593
591
587
726
628
1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiw) visited the Patanow-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanow-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuw), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiw returned to Bissasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiw's wife. As the Patanow-tedi were technically at war with the Bissasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bissasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawā, below.

159 12. Dimbrama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatarī
 583 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
 621 Canabury River) by the Reyabobōwei-tedi and Mōmaribōwei-
 578 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after
 being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed
 arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiberowā, below). The
 man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge
 in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village
 planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his
 wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiberowā, set off for Mōmaribōwei-
 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
 They were going to Mōmaribōwei-tedi to take Dimbrama away
 from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me
 to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun,
 presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in
 their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we
 arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and
 the wound was badly infected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were
 one of the only allies of the Mōmaribōwei-tedi, they gave
 up the girl without much argument, since she would have
 died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl
 to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in
 January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is
 presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

[797]

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
 583 Patanowā-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was
 587 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
 621 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kōobawā, one of the village
 721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabama. See Shiberowā, below.

000 26. Namorakomi. See Shiborowā, below.

159 28. Manasinawā. This man is originally from Hasabōwā-tedi,
 • 693 but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with
 586 a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted
 589 him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwā-tedi. After
 * 628 the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawā's
 brother was killed, he was given Hikarina, one of the
 widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this
 woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokosiwā.
 His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to
 Kpobāwā, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawā's
 (721) father was killed by Husiwā of Patanowā-tedi, so he
 joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowā-
 tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

159 39. Shiborowā. He fled from his native village, M̄maribōwei-
 593 tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his
 * 621 wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage
 * 628 (Dimbrama, above), and his rivals took the girl away
 from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters,
 he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his
 daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought
 his second wife (Namorakomi) and his three juvenile
 children with him (Tiabōwā, Yareama, and Katabema). The
 Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters
 to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his
 second wife.

000 40. Tiabōwā. See Shiborowā, above.

50. Yareama. See Shiborowā, above.



DOING FIELDWORK AMONG THE YANOMAMÖ · 9

that I had to become very much like the Yanomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114
123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point; I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome. since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114
123
152
[593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114
121
123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yanomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes⁵ across the river. I knew that if 114
123
[999]

⁵The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe.

DOING FIELDWORK AMONG THE YANOMAMŌ · 33

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kqobawā had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kqobawā's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yanomamō standards, she and Kqobawā have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kqobawā is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

115

[347]

[393]

[839]

[622]

[156]



Fig. 1-4. Kqobawā's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

142
301
302
516
291
854

16 · DOING FIELDWORK AMONG THE YANOMAMÖ

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
 [622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
 [156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following
 (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already
 respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawā is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He
 has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
 [582] villages to which Kaobawā's is allied. Rerebawā left his village to seek a wife in
 Kaobawā's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawā is perhaps more typical than Kaobawā in the sense that he is concerned
 about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is,
 however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action.
 [622] Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relationships
 over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although
 he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to
 expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[582] He does not intend to stay in Kaobawā's group and has not made a garden. He
 feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing
 [591] them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to
 his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently
 in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised
 to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular
 shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
 [837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
 [593] him with a club. Rerebawā was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
 [598] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was
 so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village
 with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawā dragged him out
 of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair
 with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock,
 shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawā release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kaobawā, he has a low opinion of the others in
 Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable
 group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and
 everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kaobawā's
 brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I
 was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawā was disgusted that the others did not chase the
 raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole
 group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle
 and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawā is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
 side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours
 [522] on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yanomamö that I feel
 I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawā
 was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

34 ADAPTATION

Today, however,

241 steel tools are quite common, being provided by the
 [412] several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yano-
 [177] mamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland
 [797] to more remote villages so that all the Yanomamö, even those who have not yet had
 [439] any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.⁷ Before the missionaries arrived,
 the Yanomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare
 Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made
 periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these
 tools. Kaobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece
 of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians
 by way of several intermediate Yanomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this
 tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe.
 I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

[313] The Yanomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, al-
 [132] though I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the
 [221] land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry
 season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved
 at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succe-
 sion. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun,
 provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time.
 The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn
 [423] with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries be-
 tween individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

• [593] Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land
 and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the
 [423] village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food;
 [622] he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men
 [574] to help him make a large garden. Kaobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother,
 [476] a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a
 different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kaobawä
 work in the garden during these visits.

[313] After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and
 brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his
 own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built
 under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely
 and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered
 to improve soil fertility.

245 If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to
 [462] make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings.
 If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from
 his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana
 plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the
 Yanomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut
 the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[438] ⁷One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the
 past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yanomamö.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT • 37

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*isa härö*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yanomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III-1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *hparöya*. [601]

The marriage of III-1 to III-2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilineal cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II-1 and II-4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I-2 was an *adopted* brother to I-5, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kaobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kaobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kaobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3-3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kaobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.) [597] [606] [604] [574]

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yanomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A. [593]

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny*: III-1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters. [575]

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II-3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilineal cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent. [606]

66 · SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

613 Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the
 *621 two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant
 *621 lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawā and
 622 Reromauwā, respectively, come from the *Shu* lineage. In Patanowā-teri there are two head-
 613 men, one from the *Shu* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the
 *628 headmanship shifted from the *Shu* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1963 because the *Shu*
 602 headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowā-teri. I might add that he was killed
 by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his
 brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the
 headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor*
 lineage (see Table 3-1) was stronger than the *Shu* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution
 of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most
 Yanomamō villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live
 in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes
 place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It
 is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a
 consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from
 Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowā-teri. The two men who
 actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawā him-
 self shot Rakoiwā, the present *Shu* headman of Patanowā-teri, wounding him badly. He
 had shot to kill even though Rakoiwā was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between
 *621 the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning
 613 of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the pos-
 *628 session of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at
 518 war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from
 the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the
 villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3-3, discussed later).

602 The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite
 *621 weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences
 *593 alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to
 561 aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the
 593 younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to
 595 accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers.
 561 Kaobawā, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give
 [637] another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to
 share her sexual services.) Kaobawā's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives
 because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be
 her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawā
 does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawā's
 classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive
 *628 second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had ac-
 quired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of
 an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

SOCIAL STRUCTURE • 67

 TABLE 3-1
 VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisaasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisaasi-teri (Kagobaw's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowā-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

 162
 621*
 613

 593 •
 595
 661
 628*

 593
 561

• SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

- 593 only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally
561 true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawī can ask his youngest brothers
593 to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask
561 his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village
622 plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawī himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion
[123] that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will
work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a
younger brother to Kaobawī, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawī to help me
get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from
Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if
he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of
the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity
and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around.
[59] By contrast, Kaobawī could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight,
since the latter was *not* yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence,
anxious to display personal autonomy.

622 Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many
628 circumstances. Kaobawī continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his
602 brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other
man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary)
his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar
account.

621 In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly
613 intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of
602 genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers.
That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political
unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have
common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may
be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage be-
gins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more
intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogi-
cally more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Genera-
tion V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered
into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of
brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.⁹ Local descent groups have three
[611] characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the
members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a mem-
ber of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live
[59] in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife else-
where, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

⁹Leach, 1951. Yanoama local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yanoama such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yanoama local descent groups clearly fit Leach's definition.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE • 69

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinamen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yanomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yanomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations. [423]

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her. [228]*

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her. [582]

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinamen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kaobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and [582]

137
142
291
301
462
482
313



Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

DIVISION OF LABOR AND DAILY SOCIAL LIFE · 89

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives. 523 124

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kqobwā, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Ynomamō standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her. 524 527 571 582 602 183

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open. 1997 1834 1978 204 301

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Ynomamō women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers. 562 145 155

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their 562 721

W - SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Women always bring their

children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women insist against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "ferocious" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kajibowi, for example, lets Aciwai beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Aciwai is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 3-7. Aciwai, Kajibowi's favorite son, building a mud-chelon house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.



562
121
(189)

858
865
(593)

142
302
857
137

DAILY ACTIVITIES • 89

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharamiwi, Kaobawi's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawi's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawi's younger wife. Kaobawi's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawi's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.²¹

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liaisons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hushimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

²¹A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawi's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

90 • SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

512 supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men,
 296 women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage
 of tobacco in Kjobawá's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors
 (129) who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

512 Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Ynomamö like to take
 (241) advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too
 (461) humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe
 (515) in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-
 (459) year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical
 (524) or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best
 (825) honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with
 (857) miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see
 (231) Fig. 3-8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can
 (526) last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume
 (897) much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and fire-
 (522) wood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although
 (461) they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in
 (222) season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until
 (461) sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucin-
 (241) ogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the
 (216)

9. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

At the evening meal he refused to

512 take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he
[224] appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He
[554] preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship
[264] or stinginess.

[23] Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share
[462] of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or para-
[252] phernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree
[263] are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into
the salty liquid and eaten.

[264] Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot
be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around
[252] the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them
[264] in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread
open, and everyone shares its contents.

[252] Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after
their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur
is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head,
[262] particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a
delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that
this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yanomamö.

[354] By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening;
if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two
glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the
[447] village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an
alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yanomamö first sit on them and wipe
[515] the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accum-
[513] ulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the
fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in
the village by the time it is dark.

[755] Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman
will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should
[765] anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others
have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and
• [593] soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The
[578] shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as
someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long,
[537] loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may
add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls
asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

512 Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary
221 much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's
561 age or sex, as was shown above.
562

STATUS DIFFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES · 93

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawā, for example, is an outsider to Kaobawā's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawā their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawā from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawā goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawā invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yanomamō standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kaobawā, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawā and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawā, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kaobawā's, is rather indifferent. Kaobawā had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kaobawā stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kaobawā thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwā, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kaobawā arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwā along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwā was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kaobawā would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowā-teri arrived to explore with

94 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION On another occasion a group

156 of men from Patanowā-teri arrived to explore with

622 Kqobawā the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law
 *628 to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One
 607 of the ambitious men in Kqobawā's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his
 574 prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwā, was a very
 721 cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kqobawā's position as headman. He
 [123] wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On
 this occasion Kqobawā let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the
 better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwā and his followers
 were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black
 and were well armed. Kqobawā and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-
 in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon
 [114] Paruriwā and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around
 the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding
 his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the
 women and children left. Neither Kqobawā nor the Patanowā-teri visitors batted an
 eyelash when Paruriwā approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat
 up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to
 suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within
 seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwā's group and
 were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving
 their justification for the state of hostilities.

The crisis has been averted because of Kqobawā's implied threat that he would
 defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwā's group were visitors from
 Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowā-teri.
 When Paruriwā failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping
 to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kqobawā realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home,
 [123] since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and
 asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I
 had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate
 my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at
 any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the
 Patanowā-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowā-teri men lay on
 the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages.
 The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them
 trade goods. At this time the Patanowā-teri were being raided by about a dozen different
 villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very
 cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot
 where a Hasabōwā-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowā-teri woman a week earlier.
 Thus, Kqobawā not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he
 also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

156 Kqobawā keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwā, for
 622 example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight
 • 573 provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are coura-
 578 geous enough to interfere with Paruriwā when he is angry. On one occasion Kqobawā
 was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

STATUS DIFFERENCES AND ACTIVITIES 29

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwā, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwā's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwā went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwā recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kqobawā had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwā before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kqobawā disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kqobawā's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kqobawā managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kqobawā stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kqobawā (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.



156
622
573
578

156
622
578
[276]

142
291
302
578
411
622

LEVELS OF VIOLENCE • 119

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yanomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

628
578
411578
[562]
[685]
593
578
685
411578
411578
684
411164
302

120 · YANOMAMÖ WARFARE

164
302 Fig. 5-1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the (622) village, a brother of Kaobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given (684) back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri (602) because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they (628) would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and (721) the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

579 Spears are not commonly used by the Yanomamö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted
531 with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

* 628 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started
578 over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the
721 headman of one of the villages north of Kaobawä's area, took her away from him by
593 force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122.]

122 · YANOMAMŌ WARFARE

622 original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited
579 aid from their allies. Kəbawā's group sent a delegation of youngmen to the village that
721 took the woman away from the cruel husband.

- 593 When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

726 They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yanomamō had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.¹ Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

- 726 The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The
721 objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Kəbawā told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Kəbawā, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by 727 Torokoiwā, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwā got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

741
740
739
738
737
736
735
734
733
732
731
730
729
728
727
726
725
724
723
722
721
720
719
718
717
716
715
714
713
712
711
710
709
708
707
706
705
704
703
702
701
700
699
698
697
696
695
694
693
692
691
690
689
688
687
686
685
684
683
682
681
680
679
678
677
676
675
674
673
672
671
670
669
668
667
666
665
664
663
662
661
660
659
658
657
656
655
654
653
652
651
650
649
648
647
646
645
644
643
642
641
640
639
638
637
636
635
634
633
632
631
630
629
628
627
626
625
624
623
622
621
620
619
618
617
616
615
614
613
612
611
610
609
608
607
606
605
604
603
602
601
600
599
598
597
596
595
594
593
592
591
590
589
588
587
586
585
584
583
582
581
580
579
578
577
576
575
574
573
572
571
570
569
568
567
566
565
564
563
562
561
560
559
558
557
556
555
554
553
552
551
550
549
548
547
546
545
544
543
542
541
540
539
538
537
536
535
534
533
532
531
530
529
528
527
526
525
524
523
522
521
520
519
518
517
516
515
514
513
512
511
510
509
508
507
506
505
504
503
502
501
500
499
498
497
496
495
494
493
492
491
490
489
488
487
486
485
484
483
482
481
480
479
478
477
476
475
474
473
472
471
470
469
468
467
466
465
464
463
462
461
460
459
458
457
456
455
454
453
452
451
450
449
448
447
446
445
444
443
442
441
440
439
438
437
436
435
434
433
432
431
430
429
428
427
426
425
424
423
422
421
420
419
418
417
416
415
414
413
412
411
410
409
408
407
406
405
404
403
402
401
400
399
398
397
396
395
394
393
392
391
390
389
388
387
386
385
384
383
382
381
380
379
378
377
376
375
374
373
372
371
370
369
368
367
366
365
364
363
362
361
360
359
358
357
356
355
354
353
352
351
350
349
348
347
346
345
344
343
342
341
340
339
338
337
336
335
334
333
332
331
330
329
328
327
326
325
324
323
322
321
320
319
318
317
316
315
314
313
312
311
310
309
308
307
306
305
304
303
302
301
300
299
298
297
296
295
294
293
292
291
290
289
288
287
286
285
284
283
282
281
280
279
278
277
276
275
274
273
272
271
270
269
268
267
266
265
264
263
262
261
260
259
258
257
256
255
254
253
252
251
250
249
248
247
246
245
244
243
242
241
240
239
238
237
236
235
234
233
232
231
230
229
228
227
226
225
224
223
222
221
220
219
218
217
216
215
214
213
212
211
210
209
208
207
206
205
204
203
202
201
200
199
198
197
196
195
194
193
192
191
190
189
188
187
186
185
184
183
182
181
180
179
178
177
176
175
174
173
172
171
170
169
168
167
166
165
164
163
162
161
160
159
158
157
156
155
154
153
152
151
150
149
148
147
146
145
144
143
142
141
140
139
138
137
136
135
134
133
132
131
130
129
128
127
126
125
124
123
122
121
120
119
118
117
116
115
114
113
112
111
110
109
108
107
106
105
104
103
102
101
100
99
98
97
96
95
94
93
92
91
90
89
88
87
86
85
84
83
82
81
80
79
78
77
76
75
74
73
72
71
70
69
68
67
66
65
64
63
62
61
60
59
58
57
56
55
54
53
52
51
50
49
48
47
46
45
44
43
42
41
40
39
38
37
36
35
34
33
32
31
30
29
28
27
26
25
24
23
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0

¹The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yanomamō firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yanomamō villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yanomamō, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

124 · YANOMAMÖ WARFARE

721 him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their
 724 enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinamen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

721 Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yanomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kapobaw's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

622 The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *manäwi* (fierce one) of the group.

(537) Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous
 (578) affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His
 • (593) youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatai girl. Damowä seduced her,
 (684) thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

* 621 Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take
 (628) refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against
 (595) them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided
 (622) to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the
 (578) final club fight that led to the separation of Kapobaw's group from the Monou-teri.
 Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kapobaw then
 * 621 organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give
 * 628 them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kapobaw's raiders. Nobody
 726

132 YANOMAMÖ WARFARE

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in his, as was the case in the *ways itow* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowī had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawī, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Dumowī's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away, and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kaobawī and his youngest brother staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kaobawī's pains had gotten so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowī-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararawī, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowī-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararawī stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immediately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kaobawī had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

Here, he intended

to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

A SPECIFIC WAR 133

the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,³ so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Shararaiwā had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawā was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawā, explaining that they had reached Patanowā-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowā-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwā of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwā with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanoamō have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwā was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowā-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowā. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *saokaimow* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawā's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawā felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowā's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwā of Kaobawā's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowā-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowā-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

³ The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawā's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bissai-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bissai-teri would not borrow it.